2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

But, on great ceremonial
occasions, all daughter villages returned in a body to the parent village. If intervillage games were held, it was understood that all played and bet on the same side. If one went on the warpath, the others were notified and asked to join. Modern interpreters speak of these related villages as "partners". We shall refer to the whole group of mother village, daughter villages and Wells, as a village unit.

The three reservations number eleven such village units whose location has changed very little in the two hundred and more years since Kino visited most of them. The reason is obvious. They were placed in spots which were, then as now, the best for cultivation. Usually, the main villages are found in the middle of the north-to-south valleys, with their daughter villages stretching along the valley in both directions and their Wells perched in the mountain walls at either side. Sometimes a village has made two or three short moves to get better water and it may have carried its old name with it to each location, but all the sites are easily identified and generally the history of the moves is preserved in tradition.

Our knowledge of the daughter villages dates only from 1860[1] and it is possible that their settlement is recent and due to the cessation of Apache raids. Kino, who visited several of the mother villages, says nothing about the daughters and we do not know whether the three hundred and seven hundred people who greeted him[2] lived in town or in the environs. But we know that, during the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century there could be no daughter villages. That was the time of the Apache attacks, when the people were obliged to concentrate and, no matter how far away their fields were: "They could not live far apart. They were afraid." (26)

But when the Apache ceased to trouble, toward the end of the nineteenth century, the large villages began to break up and groups moved out, either to the fields they had been cultivating, or to new ones. Several villages recorded in the appendix were founded in the last two or three generations and the movement is still going on. In the last few years there has appeared a factor which will influence residence even more than freedom from attack. This is the digging of government wells. Already these have given some of the large Field villages a permanent water supply so that movement in the dry season is unnecessary. As more of the Fields are supplied, we may expect some of the Wells to be abandoned while others, if conveniently located for cattle raising, may grow into

[1] Hoover, 1895, p. 259.
[2] Bolton, 1936, pp. 397, 398.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

permanent villages in their own right. Certainly the yearly migration of the population and its dual residence, will become a thing of the past.

The eleven village units form the outstanding divisions in the Papago country and the loyalty of each individual is above everything else, to his village and its "partners". But the units are gathered into dialect groups, each with very different affiliations. The groups have no governmental or ceremonial significance and their members intermarry, though generally they prefer not to do so on account of divergent customs. The differences between them are fast disappearing and to find the points presented here required a long search. Many of the influences which have caused differentitation may be recent but it is not impossible that some of the lines of cleavage are very ancient ones and reflect a difference between the early Hohokam and those who accepted Pueblo acculturation. There follows a list of the dialect divisions, with their component village units and such historic data as are available for each. This list is in substantial accord with the excellent map published by Hoover[1], who has done painstaking work in tracing village descent. At the end of the chapter is a condensed chart, giving the names in common use (which may be Spanish, English, or adapted Papago), the Papago names and translation.

Papago-Dialect Groups and Village Units

1. Archie dialect group

These are the Papago proper, the people on whom the name of Bean Eaters was originally bestowed. They have an opprobrious nickname, totokuanyi (loose gee string) never used by themselves. For clarity, they may here be spoken of as the Archie group, Archie being their oldest and most important village. It is this group which, tradition says, came up from underground and followed Elder Brother, finally planting their prayer stick on the site of Archie and thence populating the land. They are the people whose ceremonies show the greatest amount of Pueblo influence. The Pima, with whom they are closely associated, would seem to have provided the channel.

This group occupies a long north-and-south valley in the eastern part of the reservation, not far from the Pima. Their dialect is more like that of the Pima than are those of the other divisions and such of their customs as can be compared with the Pima show a

[1] Hoover, 1935.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

Kino in 1698 and sent runners into the desert to bring him water long before he arrived.[1] Kino gave to this village and to its near neighbor sihw oitak (Bitter Fields) the name of San Bonifacio and in the two together he found more than three hundred people. A cane of office was bestowed on the chief who accompanied Kino nearly to Archie. Communications at that time were close, both with the Gila Pimas who had sent word of the missionary's coming and with the Sóba Jípuris of the Santa Cruz, whom the Quajote people had just been aiding in a fight. Quajote Well is Bitter Well.

Other villages in the Quajote area are Chuchu (tcĭhtcĭh: caves) Kokomelik, perhaps visited by Kino and called el Cubit Tubic[2] and Wotum (Cockleburr) which was certainly visited. It was the nearest village to the Gila Pimas and apparently in close connection with them for it knew how to welcome the missionary with arches and crosses though no Spaniard had visited it before. Kino baptised five infants and a sick adult here and called the place San Angelo.

3. HUHUHRA DIALECT GROUP

Huhuhra means grandmother's children, *i. e.*, orphans and was bestowed on the people of Káka[3], one village of the group because they had no Well and wandered about sharing those of other village units. The huhuhra area is at the extreme west of Papago country running south into Mexico. Further west are mountains and uninhabitable desert which preclude expansion in that direction. The legend is that these people did not "come up from underground" but are the original inhabitants of the land, driven out by the Archie people. The site of magical events said to have taken place before the emergence (such as the death of the monster eagle) is placed in their territory. For this reason, huhuhra people are all rumored to have magic power and are looked on somewhat askance by the other groups. Some corroboration for the legend can be found in the fact that the huhuhra do not have the Puebloan ceremony of the Wiikita, though they have the Mexican ceremonies of the drinking and the cleansing feasts. Their dialect is more like that of Archie than like the Hispanized speech of the south but it contains many incomprehensible words, said to be ancient. The huhuhra are the most primitive of Papago groups and the most conservative, having kept the old brush house long after it was abandoned in other parts of the reservation.

[1] Bolton, 1936, p. 397.
[2] Father Bonaventura.
[3] Bolton, 1936, p. 399.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

constantly needing advice in important decisions, cannot summon a whole council nor wait for its deliberations. More and more the governor has come to stand for his village. He must make a decision and report it to his council rather than wait to receive orders from them. The course of events has placed him in the position of dictator rather than mouthpiece.

His authority as a judge has lapsed, since the institution of regular native judges and policemen. But that also grew, under Spanish and church influence until he conducted a form of domestic relations court, to be further described below. We may wonder at the docile acceptance by the Papago of the whipping which was so out of keeping with their own highly democratic organization. They accepted it, apparently, as part of that visitation which also gave them new foods, tools and cattle and it added enormously to the prestige of the governor who practised it. In short, the two centuries and more since Kino's time must have seen a decided shift in Papago government from the informal conduct of an intimate group which was handled like a family, by admonition rather than formal law, to the establishment of an executive power which, in response to the need of the day, is still growing. The old Papago system allowed very little scope to the ambitious man, which gives another reason why the new openings to authority were so eagerly seized upon. Yet there are still individuals who regard themselves simply as the mouthpiece of the council, while others have the attitude of the responsible patriarch and others again are practically dictators.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

was a mature man, with no father to make his gifts and those contributing were:

Enemy Slayer: A horse, and a dressed buckskin
Enemy Slayer's younger brother: a horse, and dressed buckskin
Another younger brother: a willow basket
Another younger brother: a dyed cotton belt and a buckskin
Sister: a plaited mat and a willow basket.
Younger brother's son: a basket of corn and beans
Sister's son: a basket of corn and beans.
Children of the other siblings gave baskets of food. There were a few gifts from villagers not remembered. (26)

After this ceremony and after the intervillage games described above, there was always gambling: the occasion *par excellence* for exchange of goods on a large scale with people who were otherwise strangers. The Papago had no public markets and the people who had opportunity to travel for trade were comparatively few. But, for the intervillage games, several villages might move bodily to one spot taking with them all their worldly possessions to bet on the games. This formed one of the principal occasions for distribution of goods and it was often by this means that Mexican knives and cloth found their way to the northern villages and American goods to the south.

The games played have been described under another heading but the method of exchange may be noted. The Papago used, for matching bets, a word which means literally "to meet" and they matched the stakes article by article. If a buckskin shirt was bet on one side, a shirt of equal value must be found among the stakes on the other and the two tied together. Baskets, pots and skins must be placed two and two. Horses and cattle must be in the same corral but since it was at some distance from the racetracks, pieces of manure were tied together to represent the animals. When the games were over, the winner took both articles. Beside the public games, there was a great deal of private betting constantly going on, between women and men alike. It was no uncommon thing for a person to be stripped of everything he owned and the ceremonial aura which hung about all games thus lent sanction to a movement of goods which might not have taken place otherwise, among people with so little surplus for trade.

RECENT CHANGES

The above system of economics prevailed in the childhood of present old informants. At that time, two gradual changes were going on. The disturbed condition of Mexico was causing movement

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

among the southern villages, so that the arrangement of family geographic units was broken up. The southerners, who had had cattle since Kino's time, were acquiring more through the abandonment of ranches and as pay for their services with the soldiers. Their members were growing accustomed to labor for the Mexicans, paid in money, and to the use of Mexican goods. The northern villagers were still agriculturists with very few cattle. But the Pimas, who had become commercial wheat growers, were employing them in large numbers and thus wheat and American goods were circulating. The northerners kept their family units intact and kept the ceremonial payments which lapsed in the south.

With United States supervision, which began for San Xavier in 1874 and for the mass of Papagos not until 1917, there was an increase in material goods. Papagos acquired wagons, horses and plows and, in very small amount, furniture and kitchen utensils. This property was handled according to the old family system and in many cases, it is so still. Horses, cattle and farm tools were regarded as mens' property, their use directed by the patriarch, who delegated some of the young men as cowboys, some as farmers, as before they had been farmers and hunters. Womens' property did not increase as had the mens' and in fact lessened. The supply of meat and farm produce increased beyond the subsistence point so that the family could trade for store food and the women need not go out gathering. One of the first results, then, was to upset the balance between mens' and womens' work and to make women dependent.

But the relationship of the individual to the family unit was kept. Men still owed their labor to their families and the writer met one young man, even recently, who could not take paid work because his geographic unit contained distant but helpless relatives whose fields he must till. No individual disposed of his harvest, increased though it was by the new tools, until all his relatives had been asked to help themselves. Even those who went out to work used their money to buy store goods for the whole family.

Such a conditions, in varying stages of change, endured until what was practically the economic revolution of 1933 when Emergency Conservation Work spent 350,000 dollars (to November 1935), in improving the water supply of the reservation. This meant that many localities which, heretofore, had been camps, could be permanent residences. There was no irrigation but there were drinking places for cattle where there had been none before. Also from two to six hundred men were employed in a year and received money wages.

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It was not possible to fit the sudden plentitude of money into the family scheme. Young men did, indeed buy what clothes and tools the family needed but they had a surplus for themselves as never before. The use of this surplus is now in process of working out but several results are obvious. One is the change of power from the hands of the old to the young, since it was formerly the old who practiced crafts and brought income to the family. Another is the break up of family units since it is the temptation of the young man to move with his wife and babies where he will be free of supervision. In old times he would have needed such constant help that this would have been impossible but modern improvements make such help unnecessary or payable in money. A third is that the concentration of workers from all over the reservation at the work centers, breaks up the village and even the dialect groups. Men can see the possibility of living outside their home localities. A fourth is the habit of looking to the government for charity. The family and village groups, which once took care of all dependents for the sake of their own comfort and reputation, are in process of breaking up. The responsibility of the Federal government which, to the remote Papago, had been but a vague idea, has been strongly registered. In a word, the Papago are making a very rapid change from a barter to a money economy, from the family unit to the individual, and since their standard of living is rapidly rising, from an economy of abundance to one of scarcity.

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

681 Whipping was ordered by the Spanish appointed governor who held his court with some little ceremony. On receiving a complaint, he sent his Leg out to bring in the offender whom he received in front of his house, generally with some elders present as advisors. If the offense was acknowledged, he announced the penalty immediately and the Leg carried it out. But if the plea was not guilty, he sent the Leg for witnesses and asked each of them, "What do you know about this?" He made up his mind after hearing their stories and consulting the elders. However, the Papago are not a people given to formality and the following instances, remembered by the daughter of the governor of Kuitatk reflect a neighborliness not perhaps contemplated by the Laws of the Kingdoms of the Indies.

684 Once a wife came, very angry, to complain about her husband. "He beats me," she said, "but I love him." My father sent his Leg for the husband. He said to that man: "Do you beat her?" he said. "Yes," said that man. "I beat her because I am jealous. I think she looks at other men. But I want to keep her." "Then," said the woman, "let him pay me with his body. Let him be beaten too." My father thought about that and he said, "Very well. How many stripes?" "Fifty." "Do you want to kill him?" said my father. "Twenty." So the man took off his shirt and knelt down and the Leg beat him.

A man came with his daughter. "She went off into the arroyo with a man at the last girl's puberty dance. I want her beaten." "How many stripes?" "Twenty." "Fifteen," said the chief. "She is young."

Then a husband and wife came with their girl who had just been married. "She will not sleep with the man to whom we gave her." That man was an old man but he was all right. My father (the chief) knew that. He knew the girl was just scared. He said, "Well, we'll beat her and see how she feels." So they tied the girl's hands to the post. She began to cry. She said, "I'll go with him." So she went off with her husband and my father said to the parents," If she doesn't behave, bring her back." (26)

178 692 The governor's whipping post lasted on during the early years of American authority in Papagueria, before the reservations were organized. With the latter event came the appointment of Indian judges, Indian policemen paid by the government and a reservation jail. These deal with minor offenses, principal of which is the old one first turned over to the *alcalde*—drunkenness. This neurosis of a transition stage is at present far more frequent than offenses against property or morals. However, the Indians show a tendency

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to bring to the court their family difficulties as they brought them to the governor under the old regime. Problems of rape and illegitimacy, which did not figure under the system of polygyny, are beginning to appear. These and other major offenses are dealt with by the Federal courts.

Under the Indian Reorganization Act, the Indian courts will have jurisdiction over a definite number of offenses punishable under American law. The transition to a code of morals consonant with that of the individualistic and property conscious society around them should proceed rapidly and the rate and manner of adaptation in the different departments of morals will furnish an illuminating study.

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152 rhythm, achieved, perhaps, over centuries, is one of the factors in their contentment and good nature and one to be considered in any educational system which would involve their speeding up. The writer, having long admired the lack of nervous irritability in the Papago found herself, on two or three occasions, in situations where she had to urge her Papago friends to extreme haste. They went to pieces under it much more quickly than Whites who are prepared for such a strain. It would be futile to expect them to bring their admirable nervous control into the atmosphere of speed and strain which often accompanies White activity.

●178 Papago culture is still an integrated one. The two hundred years and more of leisurely and voluntary contacts with the Whites have not disturbed the balance of organization between the individual and the community and have left the life such that the average individual can still live it with contentment and satisfaction. But this culture is breaking up and Whites who oversee the process have the interesting problem of inculcating a set of virtues and inhibitions almost directly opposite to the former ones, without too destructive a period of transition.

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tone of their constitution and of their government is likely to have a different tinge. 177

But a new economic change is likely to affect the village profoundly. In 1933 Emergency Conservation funds were alotted for the crying economic problem of the reservation — the development of a water supply. In the next two years wells, pumps, and reservoirs were installed wherever it was possible. This means that the yearly migration to the hills which has been such a determining factor in Papago life, is no longer necessary. People who live the year round in one village will build better houses and have more furniture. It will be more worth while for the government to build them a good school and for them to help with it. Many who used to camp for the winter with another group, will now have an undivided allegiance. The village should gain in membership and in importance.

Before these pages go to press, further developments will already have taken place. The new constitution will be in operation and the establishment of the Papago as commercial cattle raisers will be in process. Organization in local family groups whose frugal subsistence was dependent on the unity of all the members must gradually give way to institutions contingent on the new economy. Investment in goodwill must yield to investment in goods and, therefore, must produce the financial superiority of some over others. 178●

Those men least in accord with the old order, that is, those with unfulfilled personal ambitions, will be the first to drop the code of humility and generosity and to start on the road to success open for the aggressive individual.

Such men have appeared already and the attitude shown toward them is an interesting variant of that shown toward those who had animal guardians by those who had none. The favor of an animal guardian was, under the old order, the one road to individual success but it came by chance, not by planned industry. Of several youths who were industrious and good runners, the Hawk would appear only to one "because he liked his ways". We may assume this phrasing in terms of the supernatural to have been the outlet provided for the ambitious and active man not content to be a member of the working group. But it applied only to a few. The majority looked up to the favored individual and accepted his gifts, without hope of emulation.

This attitude often carries over toward individuals who achieve economic success. The majority, without the pattern of rivalry current in a White society, tend to regard them, with resignation, as people successful by supernatural means. If kinsmen, they expect

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

178 gifts from them: if strangers, they tend to accuse them of mysterious luck much in the nature of sorcery. It will be long before the idea of success open to all and, in fact, obligatory on all, has full acceptance.

In the meantime, those most easily freed from the old economic obligations will have made long strides ahead. But they will not go alone: indications are that each will take at least the core of his patriarchal family with him. We have mentioned what vitality the family shows, even when customs associated with it drop away. We have also mentioned the ingrained habit of the Papago of relying on the local patriarch for advice and guidance. As prestige shifts from a ceremonial to an economic basis, the signs are that this reliance on the powerful man will increase rather than diminish. Such men are now surrounded by small groups of relatives who accept gifts and obey orders almost like feudal retainers. Since the new customs do not require the powerful man to be modest and self denying, we might perhaps expect a development like that of the old political ward boss, himself a reproduction of an Irish local chieftain.

The further shifting of elements which will form new patterns for Papago behavior can hardly be conjectured at this point in time. But there are at least grounds for rejecting the premises of a worker on another reservation who planned: "We want them to stay Indians but, in business matters, to act like White men."

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter VIII

THE FIRST FOUR YEARS

000 IN THE first of this book we have seen the Papago working and living together in the desert. We know something of their way of life and the changes brought to it by contacts with white culture, a little about the Papago outlook on life, and some of the chief personality traits of this Indian group.

128 Now we want to see the Papago as he grows up to be one of the Desert People. This part of the study is a biography, a composite picture of Papago childhood. It is a record of the experiences common to most Papago children, derived from the histories of many of the children studied in both the eastern and the western parts of the Reservation and from the observed behavior of Papago of all ages.

178 561 This life-story is divided into stages marked by significant changes in the child's behavior toward other persons. These stages correspond roughly to the following age groups: the first four years of life; later childhood (five to ten years); and adolescence (from about eleven to eighteen).

These divisions cannot, however, be taken too literally for a number of reasons. For one, during the transition between phases (for example, four to six years and ten to twelve years) the child's behavior is least clearly defined—not necessarily in the case of the individual child but in regard to Papago children as a whole. Also, the Papago are completely unconcerned with chronology. Though there are baptismal records for most children (except in the extreme West) and a small number of birth certificates, even in Baboquivari District few parents have kept personal records or know their children's birthdays. In the western districts most people simply have been assigned birthdays by the census-taker, and they are unaware of even these hypothetical dates. The significant fact for our purposes is that parents are not interested in and have no knowledge of the dates at which their children achieved certain skills, such as walking and talking.

856 561 Moreover, the Papago have no formalized age grouping. The only rites

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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153 about occasions of anger. The question about occasions when a child has been ashamed is usually felt to be quite intimate, because it demands the admission of situations in which the individual must present himself at a disadvantage. It is therefore understandable that Papago children, those of the other Indian tribes studied, and white children from a midwestern town all showed a noticeable reserve in their responses to this question.

In so far as Papago children admit anger, it is most frequently provoked by the aggressive or inconsiderate behavior of others (e.g., "I was angry when John hit me" or "I was angry when Mary threw my doll into the fire"). This reaction is not greatly different from that of the other Indian and white children who were asked the same test question (see Table 8). If, however, we single out the resentment of clearly physical or verbal aggression as it appears in all "negative" emotional categories of the test, we find that in all the Indian tribes studied this type of aggression plays a much more important role than among white children. The Papago are near the lower end of the scale, and we have evidence from their behavior that aggression is relatively infrequent among them. We may, however, assume that they are more conscious of aggression and perhaps at the same time more vulnerable in this respect than white children.

153 865 178 Awareness of and avoidance of aggressive behavior has always been an essential part of Papago child-training (see chap. ix) as a protective device against the disintegration of the group. Even reactive anger, though justified, should not be admitted. Actual admission of anger by about twice as many eastern as western Papago children is probably a symptom of partial disintegration of the old standards; the code of behavior is breaking down disproportionately to the vulnerability maintained. Open criticism of bad behavior in school and the equally open condemnation of sinful behavior by various missionary methods of education are likely to justify admission of reactive angry feelings more readily than the indirect Papago methods of criticism—joking, teasing, and avoidance.

153 861 Another unpleasant experience which is remembered by Papago children more often than by white children is the discipline received from adults in the form of punishments and reprimands. The Papago usually discipline their children not by corporal punishments or withholding affection or favors but by exhortations, joking, or teasing. Final compulsion to desirable behavior lies in the exemplary conduct of other members of the family group, in praise, in the approval granted by the neighbors, and in the generally acknowledged relative authority of the man over the women and of the older over the younger.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

symbols are carried about, and on similar occasions. When not in use, the implement is tucked under the belt at the back. After the festival it is put away not to be used until the next feast takes place.

The singers are made up of the following four groups:

1. The people of Santa Rosa rancheria. Sikulhímat, Alóitak, and Kvítatk join with them.

2. The people of Kvívo rancheria. The San Xavier inhabitants join with these.

3. The people of Ánekam rancheria.

4. The people of Áktjin rancheria.

These four groups have different masks and at the head-quarters of each is a practising enclosure.

This great harvest festival lasts from morning till sunset. Ten days before the principal men begin the preparations, fasting at the same time and drinking water but once a day. Sometimes as many as fifty rancherias take part. Much noise is made in the evening before the feast is begun. Each group of rancherias sings different songs, in its turn, and every fourth year new songs are produced. At the Quitovac meeting the same songs are used year after year. The singers also dance with ceremonial objects in their hands, their songs being suited to the emblem carried.

Mr. Brownell, store-keeper and mine-owner at Brownell, in the Quijotoa Range, was present at the last festival given, which was in December, 1908. Though unable to give me any descriptive detail, he assured me that it was an unusual performance in its magnitude and barbarous display of costume, paint, and ceremonials. A

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

few other Americans had been present, but nobody was allowed to make any notes. Permission to take photographs would not be considered without a payment of six hundred dollars. It is doubtful whether a similar festival will ever take place again, for there are only one, or possibly two, old men left who know how to direct the complicated ceremonies. Formerly, the complaint was made to me, the young men used to be taught by the two old men, but at present nobody goes to them. If another festival does take place, it would be highly desirable for an ethnologist to be present. I visited the practising enclosure, which is from forty to fifty feet square. A great accumulation of ceremonial things was left here from preceding feasts, conspicuous among which were some large, triangular frames to which wads of cotton were attached, symbolizing clouds. Bright blue, wooden swallows, fastened to the tops of sticks, also attracted my attention. They are carried by certain performers. The enclosure is called a váaki, as is also the medicine lodge and the house of the leader of the salt expeditions.

I was successful enough to procure two more clown masks, the owners of both being medicine-men. One of them, who was too old to be a clown any longer, should have handed it over to his son or nephew, but he preferred American dollars. I was further completing my collection with sets of the various articles that comprise the outfit, when my nefarious activities reached the ears of the principal men, who at once put a stop to any more purchases. "What are we coming to," cried the chief,

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
NU28 Papago NU28

796 "selling these things? Are we not going to have any
178 more feasts?" There was some talk of having me return what I had bought, but the storm of indignation gradually subsided.

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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The weapons mentioned in this story were probably made from obsidian which still serves as material for the making of arrow-points for ceremonial use. The obsidian is worked with a bone.

My camp was on the small plain on which the medicine lodge is situated, near an unusually well-grown mezquite tree, the shade of which is enjoyed by participants in the feasts that are given. In the evening spent here I could hear talking from the medicine lodge, but the old man, Miguel, who is in charge, complained much of the indifference of his countrymen, the younger generation never coming any more to the counsel house. The Indians here, in fact, are much spoiled by Mexicans and mescal brandy, and present to-day little of interest to the investigator. The same remark applies to the Indians of Sonoita, though in a lesser degree. A few, just a few, of the Mexicans exploit the Indians for their own purposes. It happens even that they ingratiate themselves by giving good advice—good for their own pockets—charging the confiding Indian for the advice. On the other hand, it must be said that the Papagoes of Sonora are in general treated with much more consideration than in Arizona. The Mexicans look upon them more as their equals, and the result is that the so-called civilized Indian is noticeably more polite in his manners in Sonora than in Arizona.

The great annual harvest feast for which Quitovac is famous, and to which people congregate from all parts of the Papagueria, is still kept up. It is performed in the month of August on a stretch of level ground half a mile

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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578 and harmony reigned, but now all that is changing. The Indian who has to work for his living finds it hard to make [511] ends meet, and to support additional people becomes impossible, hence quarrels and unpleasant conditions begin to manifest themselves.

361 Formerly they lived in large rancherias, but in the last • 178 twenty years the tendency has been to scatter. They [231] have been touched by commercialism and are now showing energy in acquiring cattle and other property. Formerly, too, a family owned a couple of cows and a horse or sometimes they had no animals, but during the last twenty years the tribe has acquired a considerable number of live-stock, often twenty cows and from ten to twelve horses to a family. Four or five families are the individual possessors of a few hundred head of cattle, but there is no difference in their mode of life from that of the rest.

178 The women are clever in adapting themselves to the new conditions. I know of an instance where the wife made a shirt for her husband without ever having learned how to cut it out, and the garment, when finished, was very creditably done. What the girls desire most to acquire at school is the knowledge of music and dressmaking. Some of them have learned at the Presbyterian schools to play the piano, which redounds much to the credit of the schools. To develop man's sense for harmony and the beautiful, whether by music or other refining pursuits, is as important as to teach him to read and write.

The Papagoes recognize the white man's superiority and have begun to make money an aim in life, which may

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
NU28 Papago NU28

be the necessary step for their further advancement. They have adopted civilized man's mode of dressing, his tools, vessels, and implements, sewing-machines, and even phonographs, bacon, bread, and coffee, and all the different brands of crackers and canned goods. Their ideas and manners are naturally changing. One prominent Papago complained to me that the women were gossiping now as white women do. These Indians still insist on speaking their own language, but they might just as well give it up, as they no longer preserve their traditions and ancient customs. The future augurs well for the Papago as long as the government's wise prohibition against the sale of alcohol continues to be rigidly enforced. There is no trouble in civilizing the Indians by education, but a great step in the right direction would be to civilize the rough whites first.

[p. 366 is blank]

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935

NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

cate. Their vegetable food was largely the camote, an edible root found in the sand dunes, together with the beans of the mesquite and the fruit of the saguaro and pitahaya cacti, for which they came as far as Quitoboquito and the lower Sonoita River.[9] A few of them even now have temporary camps, as of old, south to the Gulf.[10]

Quitovac, the old head village for the Sonoita Valley, is Sand Papago in kinship. Descendant therefrom was the Papago village at Sonoita and the now extinct village of Tak and the nearly extinct village, Quitoboquito. Sonoita was an attractive and favored site, as the Sonoita River is here a permanent stream. The present village is composed mostly of Mexicans, numbering about 600, who crowded out the Papago. At present there are five Papago families with about sixty people at the lower end of the village.[11] Quitoboquito is a small oasis with one of the largest springs in the Papago country.[12] It never was but a small village,[13] and the population is now reduced to one half-breed family operating a cattle ranch. The spring is on the American side of the boundary line, but the fields and ranch are in Sonora.

Several small villages of Sand Papago are located around Ajo. They are a nomadic and very poor people, having small houses and a field here and there. The largest remnant of the Sand Papago is located at Dome and Blaisdell, about twenty miles east of Yuma. The population of the two villages totals about two hundred. They have fields along the Gila River and work as laborers on the Southern Pacific Railway.

FACTORS INFLUENCING SHIFTS OF PAPAGO VILLAGE SITES OR OF THEIR POPULATIONS

Several factors have contributed toward a disintegration of the older and larger villages. To begin with, a degree of concentration was a necessity for security, especially against Apache raids. As the Apache extended the range of their raiding activities over the Santa Cruz and Altar Valleys, the Papago abandoned all out-lying villages.

At this time the old village of Poso Verde, Sonora, was deserted and its people went to Comobabi, Sonora. The place became frequented by Apache bands. In 1874 the only evidences of habitation were the remains of a few bacquals and of an old adobe fort built by the Papago as a protection for their frontier village and grazing range. The "well" was described as a sort of pit or natural tank with a strong flavor of alkali, cow-manure, dead coyotes, and decayed vegetables.[14]

[9] Lumholtz, pp. 330–31.

[10] A list of the former camps of the Sand Papagos is given by Lumholtz, pp. 394–97.

[11] A Papago family may include married offspring living under the same roof.

[12] Kirk Bryan, pp. 164–65.

[13] Hornaday, p. 122.

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

coyotes, and decayed vegetables.[14] Settled again from Tecolote, Poso Verde, situated in a semicircle of foot hills, is now one of the most pleasing of all the Papago villages.

The "trincheras" or walled fortifications on the isolated mesa four miles east of San Miguel were built by the Papago as a retreat in case of Apache raids. They are in this respect distinct from the prehistoric trincheras on the mount just south of Sells, near Poso Verde, and through the Altar Valley, described by Sauer and Brand.[15]

The most important factor in making new and smaller settlements desirable has been the introduction of cattle, dating from the journeys of Father Eusebio Kino, 1691–1702, followed by those of Father Garcés, 1768–1775. Along with Christianity, Father Kino introduced cattle, horses, and chickens. Cattle did not become important with the Papago, however, until the latter part of the nineteenth century, and the extensive areas between their limited fields were of little use to them except as game preserves. By hunting and gathering in these areas, they supplemented the produce of their fields, but no inducement was offered to permanent settlement of these areas. In 1849–1850 John Audobon described the Papago as fast passing away, judging from the dilapidation of the towns and the number of empty houses.

> The people live on turtles and what game they can get. I have seen small elk and antelope skins dressed and terrapin shells are everywhere. We have bought two terrapins fresh killed, some roots, and the fruit of a plant called the manguey.
>
> Why it is that these Indians settle in such a country, I cannot conceive, for even the lizards, in most places innumerable, are scarce here. The Indians kill them with a light wand, giving them a dextrous tap on the head. They pick up the game, slip the head under a belt or string round their waists, and when sufficient are collected, a little fire is made, and this delicate repast is enjoyed by them as an epicure would relish his brace of woodcock.[16]

Audobon also described a sort of mush made of grasshoppers. The insects were caught and dried, then pounded and mixed with meal or pinole, parched wheat or corn, spiced and pounded.

Pastoralism is better suited to a scattered population, so the tendency has been for the larger villages to break up into more scattered settlements. The passing of the old Tecolote village in favor of smaller communi-

[14] J. Ross Browne, Adventures in the Apache Country (New York, 1874), p. 277.

[15] Carl Sauer and Donald Brand, Prehistoric Settlements of Sonora, with Special Reference to Cerros de Trincheras (University of California Publications in Geography, Vol. 5, No. 3, 1931), espc. pp. 67–70.

[16] Audobon's Western Journal, 1849–50 (Cleveland, 1906), pp. 148–50.

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28

ties and ranches is a good illustration. Grazing has enabled the non-tillable lands to be put to use, and many of the Indians prefer to live on or near their grazing lands.

Other factors responsible for the passing of the old order have been the digging of wells by the government which have scattered more widely the sources of dependable water, the development of mining communities, and increasing contact with the white population.[17]

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[17] There has been considerable variation in the names and spelling of names of Papago villages as given by various writers. Some revision is suggested of the names used on the government maps published in connection with Water Supply Paper 499. The Indian names are given preference in the present study, except where corruptions of them, or Spanish and American names, have become a matter of common usage. The U. S. Geographic Board has as yet taken no action concerning these names.

Special acknowledgment is due Father Bonaventura Oblasser, Superior of Franciscan Missions among Desert Papagos, for the invaluable assistance of his experience among the Papago.

18: Kelly E-4, 5 (no date) 1963 NU28 Papago NU28

Chapter I

HISTORY

The modern Papago, and their effort to adjust to the American industrial civilization around them, cannot be understood apart from the traditions and values that have come down through the years from the ancestral Papago society which occupied this same region in pre-Spanish times. The contrast between the Papago society and economy of 1700 and modern American industrial life is as great as the contrast between any two societies in the world today.

Linguistically, the Papago dialects--still spoken in the vast majority of Papago homes--are classified with the Pima-Papago division of the Piman language which, in turn, is grouped with the larger Uto-Aztecan stock which is made up of Indian languages spoken from southern Mexico to the borders of Montana and Wyoming. Culturally, the Papago are related to the desert tribes of northwestern Mexico, western Arizona, southern California and Nevada.

As a group these so-called "Rancheria" cultures are characterized as having loose political organization with little authority vested in the chief or headman;

105 lack of interest in wealth, religious structures, and
171 public works; relative unimportance of religious cere-
175 monialism and the weak development of religious leader-
ship. On the positive side, they had a highly developed
[181] native literature in myth and song recital, in folk
stories, and in formalized oratory; they were greatly
interested in social gatherings and were especially
sensitive to the maintenance of form and custom in social
intercourse. The reports on all these people give the
impression of an unhurried, relaxed type of life, and a
dependence upon established tradition and the old people
who understood this tradition, rather than upon individual
initiative.

171 The absence of individual aggressiveness, the
181 ease of manner, and the lack of a fully developed interest
178 in economic advancement, as this is known in white society,
persist as cultural traits among the modern groups and
account, in some measure, for their resistance to measures
and proposals stemming from the white man's concept of
"progress," and his interest in wealth as a symbol of
status and achievement.

175 The Papago, however, with their interest in
171 agriculture and in village life, had a somewhat more com-
105 plex way of life than the typical "Rancheria" groups of
northwestern Arizona, southeastern California, and Nevada,
[621] in pre-Spanish days. The Papago village, in fact, was
usually politically autonomous and served as the next most

222
178 The collecting and preparing of these plant foods was time-consuming and required a specialized knowledge of their potentialities with the result that their use is gradually disappearing. Nevertheless, some of these wild foods will continue to contribute a minor part of the diet for some time to come.

136 In contrast to the variety and relative importance of wild plant sources of food, the desert offered only a
224 sparse animal life for economic exploitation. Before the introduction of horses and cattle, the mule deer was much more abundant and widespread and was the chief game animal of the Papago. Of less importance were the white-tailed deer, the antelope, mountain sheep, and the peccary or javelina. Small animals were also hunted, particularly the jackrabbit, the cottontail rabbit, and the packrat. Game
[223] birds, such as the quail and dove were also important. In general, hunting of larger animals was an occupation only occasionally indulged in by a few men; other animals were hunted more systematically, but hunting was always a relatively minor activity for the Papago. The small scale of more recent use of faunal resources is indicated by the fact that, during World War II, "due to the wartime price of fur, eight whites and two Papagos . . . (were) engaged in trapping and making considerable money at it" (Program, Papago Reservations, 1944, p. 15).

62 [20] on the reservation. Indian residents of Sells on the whole, seem to be well aware of events occurring beyond the borders of the reservation.

Surprisingly, there is no real community organi- [166] sation. This is probably due to the cosmopolitan nature of Sells with residents having moved there from all parts [571] of the reservation. The organizations which do exist revolve around voluntary associations, churches and cliques.

[434] [463] [464] Residents of Sells have garden plots and some are cattle growers, but their main source of income is from salaries and wages, with the majority working for the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Public Health Service, and the Papago Tribe.

Santa Rosa is not as large as Sells, nor does it [368] have many of its characteristics. There is a community building, a government school, a government health center, a church, and a trading post with gasoline pumps. The community building is used for meetings which are held to plan ceremonies and various village projects. There [575] are also many voluntary associations, all patterned after similar Anglo associations, such as a Woman's Club, an Athletic Club, and a Boy Scout troop.

[634] The Gu Achi District Council meets in the community building and all political activity of the district is [178] centered here. Santa Rosa, however, in spite of progressive tendencies, contains some of the most traditional elements of Papago culture found on the Reservation.

In an earlier day, reservation residence required an adjustment to a desert environment. This being the case, towns were always near a source of water and near acceptable pasture and flood water farm land. At the present time, with wage work becoming increasingly important, in fact essential to the great majority of Indians during some period of the year, residence near a source of wage work is also important. 178 361 433 [464]

Another change in Papago life has also been noted. As recently as thirty or forty years ago community needs were simple and most Papago villages were self-sufficient. Today this is true only for Sells. Other villages look elsewhere for one or another of the essential community services: shopping, education, health services, religion, government, and the like. These needs are met in a slightly different fashion in each of the nine districts. 178 621 628

Baboquivari District. Although the districts -- as political subdivisions of the main reservation -- were established in 1937, long after the founding of most villages, certain internal district relationships have been built through time which are now important. In Baboquivari district Topawa serves as the voting place in tribal and district elections. It is also the center for the education of Catholic youngsters, and is the ceremonial center for Catholic activities throughout the reservation. Native ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers 634 621 628 368 [666] [797] [796]

Native
634 Ceremonial activities and traditional folk medicine centers
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[198] around Supai Oidak (Cold Fields), probably the most internall cohesive village in the district. The outside orientation of villagers in this district is towards Sells. The southernmost village in the district, Choulic, contains three or four families who are oriented toward activities in San Miguel of Chukut Kuk district.

Chukut Kuk District. This district shares its southern border with Mexico and traditionally the orientatior of its villagers has been in that direction. Today, however, they join with villagers in Baboquivari District in sending their children either to Sells to the public school, or to Topawa to the Catholic Mission School. Villagers vote in
[166] Vamori and shop in Sells or Tucson. Many of the villagers in San Miguel, Vamori and the settlement of Tecolote have temporary homes in these villages and thus spend most of their time living in Sells where they work for wages. Oftentimes the "temporary" residence in Sells is in fact the "permanent" one.

Gu Achi District. Santa Rosa is the dominant town and provides medical and commerical services to residents throughout the area. It is also the seat of political activity of the district.

Gu Vo District. People in this district send their
[366] children to Gu Vo school. They commonly do their shopping in one of three places, either in Pisinimo, at the "Y" Store near Ajo, or in Ajo proper. Almost twenty per cent of the

age bracket 20 to 44 by about two percent and the number of women in the same age bracket, living on the reservation, exceeds the number of men by about the same proportion. 162 167 128

Origin. In order to secure some measure of Papago population mobility, an attempt was made to secure the place of birth or, for older people, the place in which they lived as children. For our total population of 11,775 we have data on age and place of origin for 10,795. The comparable figure for known age and residence is 11,043. Whereas 46% of people with known residence live off the reservations, only 24% of people with known origin originated off the reservation. The shift toward increasing numbers of [178] Papagos with off-reservation origin occurs rather evenly from among the oldest people, with seven percent originating off the reservation to the youngest people with 44% originating off the reservation. Another way of indicating the same trend is to say that 16% of Papagos over the age of 65 live off the reservations and 7% originated there, whereas 53% of Papagos under the age of five live off the reservations and 44% originated there. In between, 53% of Papagos between ages 20 and 24 live off the reservations and 18% originated there.

Population Conclusions. Two very clear trends are indicated in our analysis of the total Papago population: (1) Papagos have been moving off the reservation in ever increasing numbers during the lifetime of the present population and (2) contact with the outside world has accelerated the intermarriage of Papagos with non-Papagos. Data, not here reported, shows that the majority of these marriages are between Papagos and members of other Indian tribes.

In addition to the more or less permanent residence shift indicated above, data to be presented in Chapter IV will show a high rate of seasonal and temporary movement off the reservation.

In his preliminary report on the Papago Population, prepared in 1961, Dr. Robert A. Hackenberg prepared an analysis respecting the transitional position of the Papago midway between reliance upon the institutions of native society and the acceptance of the alternatives provided by Federal programs and the opportunities in the surrounding non-Indian off-reservation areas. The following analysis is from his report and is in no material respect altered by the more precise information gathered during the past two years.

Age Distribution. The significance of the age distribution developed from the 1959 figures may be seen through the comparisons made in the following table.

one parent who is not a Papago fullblood. Thirty years ago the proportion was one out of thirty or less. 144 162

Mixture at the present time is by no means sufficient to imply that biological assimilation of the Papagos is taking place, or is likely to occur. Papago outgroup marriages has become a significant factor in the 35-55 year age group, however. This inference is warranted by the proportion of mixedblood children appearing in the birth through 25 year age classes. The visible effect of this mixture will be lessened by the preference pattern of Papagos for other Indians rather than non-Indians. Still, the accelerating rate of out-group marriage indicates the probability of profound behavioral changes within the next several generations of Papago family life. 144 162 582

Origin Composition. The first substantial proportion of the Papago population to originate off the reservation (25%) appears in the 15-19 year age class. This proportion increases to 44% in the 0-4 class. These figures indicate that the majority of the Papago births are still occurring within reservation families, but the balance is shifting toward off-reservation origin. Projection of the present trend indicates a majority of Papagos will originate outside Papago reservation areas within the next twenty-five years. This projection is based on the observation that there has been an average 5% increase in the proportion of each successive age group born off the reservation in the past 25 years. 162 161 178

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Residence Composition. The thirty percent increase in off-reservation residence between the 65+ and 15-24 age categories is of obvious significance. The trend displayed is reversed in the five through 19 age classes, however. The interpretation of this reversal opens several possibilities, and a choice between them must await examination of further evidence.

If the birth rate of reservation families were considerably higher than that off the reservation, the reversal would be accounted for. It is more likely, however, that the excess population on the reservation in the five through 14 age range is related to school attendance and employment patterns. Many Papago off-reservation families, in which both husband and wife are employed, board children with relatives on the reservation. Many off-reservation families prefer to send their children to Indian schools rather than "integrated" schools, and board them with reservation relatives for this reason. Possible relationships between this residence pattern and better opportunity to receive Aid to Dependent Children benefits on the reservation should also be verified.

Regardless of the explanation, it appears likely that the members of this youthful population will move off the reservation in at least the same numbers as their older siblings have already done upon reaching marriage and employment age.

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Hackenberg's hypothesis that the Papago Indians represent a transitional population is in accord with these statements. No tendency toward stability was discovered in any of the characteristics of the total population examined in this survey.

The trends in residence, age composition and origin disclosed movement away from native institutions of Papago society. Since these characteristics must be considered as inter-related, the unanimity of their implications is not surprising.

The pattern of changing age composition, discussed at the beginning of the interpretation was indicative of what lay ahead. Alteration of the life expectancy of a primitive group can only be achieved through large-scale changes in living habits, movement to more sanitary shelters affording better protection from weather, improved employment opportunities, better education, and more frequent use of medical services.

the Papago soon after 1900. Unlike other Arizona tribes, 175 233
who acquired cattle in significant numbers only after formal
programs for cattle raising had been introduced by the Bureau
of Indian Affairs, the Papago created their own livestock
economy. Gwyneth Harrington provides a very interesting [114]
account of the process (Harrington, 1938). The incorporation 175 178 233
of cattle raising as a part of Papago native culture, compares
with the Navajo sheep raising economy, and accounts for a great
deal of the resistance to change on the part of both tribes:

> "In the time which elapsed between the abandonment of Father Kino's missions and the founding of the Papago Indian Reservation in 1917, the Papago had plenty of time, about two hundred years in all, to become accustomed to the use of cattle and horses, adjust themselves to the new occupational elements, and assimilate the industry into the family, social, and economic structure of the tribe at their own tempo, without interference.
>
> "The old hunting range became the cattle range of the Papago settlement. Hunting was not entirely abandoned, and still has some place in the Papago economy; but in the southern districts the economic emphasis shifted early to cattle raising. [224]
>
> "The cattle of all the family were herded together, and the enterprise was conducted under the orders of the family head. The family hunters, usually one or two men to a family, gave place to one or more of the younger men appointed by the patriarchal head of the family as cowboys. These men took care of the cattle, while, as often in the case of hunters, the others did their share of the farming, and provided for their other needs in return for the specialized work of hunting or care of cattle.
>
> "Each village chose a local stockman to direct the village round-ups and cattle sales. His work was voluntary, unpaid, and a position of some prestige, almost equal to that of the Hunt Chief, whose position was falling into disuse." [554] [463]

233 with this estimate Robert Roether, reservation cattle buyer,
433 is of the opinion that from 25 to 30 families own more than
434 100 head of breeding cows. Both of the above estimates are
422 higher than the estimate provided by the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

178 Agriculture. Life on the Papago reservations has
433 always depended, and still depends, upon multiple sources of family subsistence and income. The original pattern was a combination of hunting, gathering, and flood water farming. After 1700, hunting and gathering gradually gave way to cattle raising which, in combination with flood water farming, provided subsistence and some cash income. Farming is now declining and there is being established a new combination: cattle raising and wage work.

241 Flood water farming still persists, however, in spite of periodic drought, back-breaking work, and low
[462] yields. Wherever it occurs today it is usually an activity
[887] of older men who raise a small plot of corn, beans, squash,
[434] and sometimes winter wheat, to supplement their income from
[182] cattle, thus making it possible to live on the reservation the year around and according to the traditional Papago way of life.

Cash crop or commercial farming, as will be seen later, have not appealed to the Papago since competition from non-Indian farmers and the lack of running water require

trained management and the use of fertilizers, insect control and expensive farm equipment and water pumps. 241

Flood water farming, as it has been practiced since prehistoric days on the Papago Reservation, consists of the use of surface runoff of rain water at those spots where it could be collected and spread, either at the mouth of an arroyo or along stream beds in the larger valleys. Various names have been used to describe this technique: "akchin farming" (akchin being the Papago word for the mouth of an arroyo), "flash flood farming," and "dry farming." Actually, since the introduction of wheat by Europeans, dry farming, which depends directly upon moisture from rainfall, has been used by the Papago in raising winter wheat. Corn, beans, and squash, however, which must be grown in summer, depend upon flood water which can only be supplied by the artificial spreading of moisture from intermittent streams. [177]

Periodic surveys and estimates made by the Bureau of Indian Affairs show that flood water farming on the main reservation has steadily declined during the past 50 years. How far the decline has gone, however, is not known. In an effort to secure this information the Bureau of Indian Affairs has been systematically carrying out a farm survey during the past five years. Thus far, only the southeastern part of the main reservation has been surveyed (Chukut Kuk, Baboquivari, and the southern part of the Sells district). 241 178 657 127 [311] [101] [634]

241 The survey records 536 acres that are now being farmed,
311 or have very recently been farmed, out of a total of 4,466
634 acres available for flood water farming in this area. The location and approximate size of these plots, both farmed and idle, are shown on Map 8.

241 Although yields could not be determined, the crops
178 grown on many plots were recorded, indicating an overwhelming preference for corn, beans, and squash, the ancient and traditional food crops of prehistoric Indians in the Southwest. Watermelons, wheat, milo, peas, and a few other crops, are grown in very small quantities. Thus the chief function of these farms is subsistence which, in fact, is a return to earlier times since as recently as 20 years ago cash crops of winter wheat were grown on much of this same land.

[114] In an effort to determine whether or not a similar
[101] decline in flood water farming has occurred in other areas
[311] of the reservation, a brief study was made by the Bureau of Ethnic Research in the Santa Rosa, Chuichu, and Gu Vo areas.
241 The situation as it exists in the southeastern section of the
311 reservation was found to be the same in these areas. Indi-
178 vidual farmers were working less than ten acres each and often only one or two. In each case there was a reduction in the size of family plots when compared with former years and, as in the southeast, many families had abandoned flood water farming altogether.

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A series of dry years, culminating in a serious drought during the summer of 1962, may, however, account for some of the reduction in flood water farming. In the Santa Rosa area where four farmers were interviewed, acreage had been cut from 125 to 25, and five of the 25 acres had been abandoned after planting in 1962 on account of the drought.

[115]

In the Chuichu area five farmers were interviewed. Thirty-one, out of a possible 50 acres, were being farmed. In the Gu Vo area a few farmers had attempted to farm from three to four acres each but lack of rain had forced them to give up the attempt.

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Crops grown in the above areas were the same as elsewhere. The major crop was beans, followed by corn, squash, and watermelons. Other crops included wheat, barley and sugar cane.

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The significance of the Indian Service farm survey in the southeastern corner of the reservation is greatly enhanced by a previous careful survey, that of Clotts in 1914. The fields and their approximate acreages are shown on Map 6.$\frac{1}{A}$ For the entire reservation Clotts recorded 9,177 acres devoted to flood water farming. For the area covered by the recent survey Clotts recorded 5,537 acres being farmed. The recent BIA survey shows that only 536 of these acres are now being farmed and that the amount of land that could be

$\frac{1}{A}$ [See map on P. 78-A1, A2 and A3 -- Analyst]

241 311 178 farmed is now 3,930 acres. In other words, only 10 per cent of the land formerly used is now being put in crops.

It may be assumed from our survey, and from other evidence, that this situation holds true for the entire reservation. A current estimate of about 1,000 acres in flood water farming is probably fairly accurate.

241 433 178 The reduction in acreage is not surprising. The thing that is difficult to understand is that there should still remain two or three hundred individuals willing to endure the hardships and the failures inherent in flood water farming. In 1914 there were few off-reservation jobs, and fewer Indians willing to leave the reservation in search of work. Farming, however unrewarding, was required to sustain [887] life. This situation is no longer true except for some men, usually the older men, who cannot, or do not, participate in off-reservation wage work.

241 311 [434] [248] Irrigated Farming. During calendar year 1962, Papago Indian farmers grew crops on 740 acres of irrigated land on the main reservation at Chuichu and on 45 acres of irrigated land at San Xavier. Gross income was $94,755, more than half from approximately 120 acres planted in cotton.

241 311 178 Since 1952 the number of acres farmed by Indians at Chuichu increased from 530 to 1,360 (1957) but has now

dropped to 740. The number of acres farmed by Indians at San Xavier has decreased from 1,125 to 45. New land has been put into cultivation at Chuichu. At San Xavier, land previously farmed by Indians has been transferred to non-Indian leasors or now lies idle. 241 311 178

On the three Papago reservations, 5,275 acres of land in four areas have been developed for irrigated farming: 1,307 acres at San Xavier, 370 acres at Gila Bend, 1,678 acres at Chuichu, and 1,920 acres at Papago Farms. During 1961 the lease at Papago Farms, which had been given to a non-Indian corporation for development purposes, was cancelled and the land was idle until the summer of 1963 when the Bureau of Indian Affairs planted 160 acres in small grains and forage crops as an experiment. For details of farming in the other three areas see Table 14 and Table 15. [427] [657]

657 There are five welfare categories, Old Age Assistance, Aid to Dependent Children, Aid to the Blind (all administered by the state welfare office), Child Welfare and General Assistance (administered by the Bureau of Indian Affairs). In addition, everyone eligible for assistance in the above categories, plus those of minimum income, are eligible for surplus food under the Surplus Commodities Program (a state agency).

162 By 1962, according to Jones, the number of reservation welfare cases
657 had jumped from 448 to 536, not counting an estimated fifteen children receiving Child Welfare benefits and 170 heads of households receiving surplus food. Counting dependents this means that more than 1800 residents out of a total of about 5000 on the three Papago reservations are receiving some assistance, directly or indirectly, from welfare programs.

162 Welfare statistics pertaining to the Papago reservations are given in
657 Table 27. Trends for fiscal years 1958 through 1962 indicate a gradual increase
178 in Aid to Dependent Children cases. This has been noted also for the non-Indian
[115] population as a whole. An opinion with respect to the reason for this was provided
[586] by Pima County welfare officials. More women and children tend to return to the reservation, or remain there. More women are finding out about ADC grants. In addition, there is a national increase, as well as a local increase, in divorce.
[848] There is also an increase in illegitimacy. The primary cause for the condition
[164] that makes a woman and her children eligible for A.D.C., however, is the death,
[165] disability or desertion of the father. On the reservations death claims 25% of
[586] such cases, disability 22%, and desertion about 19% of the total.

162 Given the nature of Papago family economy, the results of a comparison
171 with the non-Indian population of Pima County are not particularly surprising.
657 For 1961 the non-Indian population of the county was estimated to be 48 times as large as the reservation Indian population. Using the population ratio of 1 to 48

of days or weeks they are actually employed during the year. Average annual earnings for this group of 803 individuals would probably be located somewhere between the average income of welfare recipients ($861) and the individuals engaged principally in reservation farming and stock raising ($2309).

Only a sample survey, now made possible by the existence of a Papago population register, could determine more precisely the annual income of Papago adults, or Papago families. The answer, whatever it might be, would add little to our knowledge. We know the nature of Papago employment, we know the approximate numbers of individuals in each of the categories of employment, and we know the magnitude of the problems of unemployment, underemployment, and dependence upon welfare. To know the dimensions of a problem, however, is only the beginning. This must be followed by an examination of the facts which may lead to a solution. A great deal, but by no means all, of the necessary information is contained in this report. The task of analysis, however, must be deferred at this time except for certain more obvious considerations which are treated below.

Conclusion. The outstanding fact, and this runs as a thread through all our statistics, is that the Papago Indians are solving their own problems. Starting from very nearly "zero" in 1917, when the Sells Reservation was established, the Papagos have shown great skill and persistence in finding ways to remain self-supporting in the face of meager resources and a rapidly changing world around them. They have done more than this. A substantial number--more than 300--Papago boys and girls have secured an education and have moved into productive employment as skilled and semi-skilled workers. Another substantial group, about 20% of all adults, have found permanent and near permanent employment on and off the reservation in spite of language, cultural, and educational handicaps.

The trend of events is clearly discernible in our material. Papago families remain on the reservations, taking advantage of all possible income

opportunities until these are exhausted. At this point they turn to outside employment. A full half of the members of the tribe have made this move on a more or less permanent basis and another thirty percent make the move on a seasonal or temporary basis. This is the direction of Papago adjustment and its most encouraging aspect is the fact that it is a case of self-adjustment, uninfluenced in any important respect by forces outside the interests and goals of the Indians themselves. This is not to say that they like it. This study, and every other study of the Papagos, has shown that they accept a removal from their reservation villages only with greatest reluctance; partly because they prefer to live in a familiar environment and near their friends and kinsmen, and partly because they do not have the background in education and experience which would assist them in facing the many problems of life in a strange environment. Neither do they have the background in education and experience which would permit the more intensive development of reservation income opportunities, thus permitting larger numbers of Indians to remain on the reservations and at the same time enjoy a more acceptable standard of living.

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There are many factors involved in the solution of the economic problems which have been presented in this report. We have presented data on the level of formal education and the range of work experience. The generation of adults now seeking employment did not attend school at all, or were in school only a few years when they were children. Their origin is predominantly from reservation villages and their work experience has been almost exclusively in agricultural or common labor employment.

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These are the outstanding handicaps with which they must contend, and they are the handicaps, even though less severe, with which their children will have to contend.

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The situation is one in which necessary conditions for improvement can be clearly defined without, at the moment, being diverted by the host of

The movement of the Desert People to permanent homes in labor camps on European owned farms, abandoning their roots on the tribal lands is a relatively new development. While Papagos have worked for Europeans for almost the entire period of contact, their work has always been brief in duration, a supplemental measure followed by a withdrawal to the homeland. Forsaking overcrowded tribal lands for good seems to have begun only within the last decade, and to have reached significant proportions only in the last 5 years. (Some Papagos have worked for many years as domestics or miners away from the reserves) This late beginning for a class of Papagos severed from their homeland is due to the peaceful nature of contacts between Papagos and Americans and to lack of opportunity for wide-scale farm employment until recent years. The Papago economic base was never destroyed by warfare with the incoming whites as in the case of the Navahos and many other tribes. Overpopulation on deteriorating reserves did not reach a critical point until about the same time extensive development of irrigated agricultural lands in nearby valleys began, offering a safety valve to those Papagos able to speak acceptable English and perform semi-skilled farm work.

This class of Papago farm laborers is very new compared to natives living on South African farms. Most of them have grown up on European farms, without any stake in native reserve areas. Some are descended from natives forced into farm labor by destruction of their cattle in wars nearly a century ago.[1]

The ties native South African farm workers retain with natives living in the reserves naturally depend on the time they have spent on the farms. Some entirely lack relatives or friends on reserves, and have never visited the reserves.[2] A very few Papago year-round farm laborers no longer have relatives on the reservations. But they all still have friends on the trust lands. They all were born on the reserves. They all still visit their old homes, even if only rarely. They are all very conscious that they are Desert People, and are only beginning to view themselves as people apart.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 389.
[2] Ibid., p. 390.

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171 This Papago family including parents and sometimes another adult, with 2 or 3 children is a comparatively smaller unit than native families living on European owned South African farms, for example. There Dutch and English settlers also moved into native held lands, and a class of permanent native farm laborers has grown up. Their average household includes slightly more than 3
596 adults, and 5 children.[1] This is about the size
592 of the Papago extended family living as a household on the reserves. "Most often, and ideally, a household consists of the old parents, unmarried sons and daughters, and married sons with their wives and children--three generations in all."[2] It reflects the fact that living on European operated farms is new to the Desert People, a move accomplished by biological family units in the younger age groups.
[177] Only recently as younger Papagos have gone to school and learned white ways have they begun to set up separate households away from their parents.

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162 Families with school-age children are the largest in the labor camps. The average family size for families with school-age offspring only is over 6.[3] The families with both school and pre-school children averaged over 7 individuals.[4] This probably reflects
[165] the high mortality rate of smaller children among the Desert People, whose new-born babies have a life expectancy of only 17 years.[5]

Families with younger parents and all pre-school age children are, of course, smaller, running some 4 individuals, with nearly 2 children per family.[6]

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516 Migration to the cotton fields reinforces the tendency to break up the old Papago extended family
178 into smaller units like our biological family households. This change is most complete among families living in labor camps all the time, having severed their reservation ties more or less completely.

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[1] Hunter, 1937, p. 391.
[2] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 45.
[3] 10 families interviewed with 19 school children, 6.6.
[4] 8 families with 10 school children, 1.25 average, and 14 pre-school, 1.75 average, had 57 persons, 7.125 average, plus.
[5] 8 families with 15 children under 6 had 38 plus people.
[6] Secretary of the Interior, 1949, p. 12.

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The change in attitude toward the family is indicated by the thought habits of harvest workers as shown by their answers to inquiries as to whether the entire family was in the labor camp. Well over half replied that all their family was in the camp, although further questioning developed that actually relatives counted part of the traditional extended family remained on the reservations. These laborers were thinking in terms of the biological family rather than the traditional extended family group.[1]

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Papago harvest hands are not as socially and economically independent of the relatives they leave behind on the reserves as one might think. Strong cultural ties bind them to their relatives. The farm laborers know they will return home for most of the year--the harvest season is only an interlude. Even during picking season, Papago laborers return to the reserves on religious occasions, and meet their relatives who cannot leave the reserves to earn cash. On the other side of the picture, the stay-at-home relatives care for the property and animals of the wage laborers while they work.

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Most frequently it is the older generation which has less knowledge of English and Anglo working habits that stays on the reserves. Among workers who recognize that part of their family stayed on the reserves, about 60% left parents.[2] One pattern of behavior for laboring Desert People is to leave school children with their grandparents on the reserves so their schooling will not be interrupted by the move to the cotton farms and back. Perhaps a sixth do so.[3] Another pattern is for siblings to stay home to care for property left on the reserves. Again, about a sixth of the cotton pickers relied on such a relative in 1950.

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About one family of 10 is either so large or so poor that all members of the extended family leave the reserves to work, but go to different camps.[4]

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[1] 80% of those asked said the whole family was in camp (21 of 35 families giving information).
[2] Of 19 families giving information, 12 had parents on the reservations--63.2%
[3] Of the 19 families, 3 left children with their grandparents--15.8%.
[4] This was true of 2 of the 19 families giving data, 10.5%.

621 along, and shunted into cabins as they arrive. They do
361 not realize they have a community of interest in keeping
364 their camp clean--there is no organized social sanction in the camps to force uncooperative residents to clean up, so everyone is lax.

This is especially pronounced in labor camps with residents of more than one ethnic background. Cultural differences in living habits of different peoples are not often in the consciousness of camp operators who wrongly assume everyone lives or should live just as they do. But those differences lead to a breakdown of cleanliness in the camps.

364 The Desert People are extremely careful around their
464 own homes on the reserves, and a Papago yard is one of
626 the cleanest spots imaginable, although it may be littered with stray pieces of furniture and tools. So administrators are puzzled over Papago slovenliness in labor
[351] camps. The answer seems to be found in their pattern of hiring out. The Desert People go to work as family units with residents of a reserve town scattering to several labor camps. As a result, the primary sanction[1] in Papago community life, the fear of being talked about, loses its effect. Being talked about by laborers of other races does not produce action by the Desert People that talk in their home community would. The same is true of other people in labor camps--being talked about by members of other ethnic groups is not strong enough a sanction to move them to act. In fact, such talk is likely to produce an opposite reaction because of inter-group
621 frictions. Labor camps housing laborers of more than
571 one racial origin are studies in social disorganization
626 resulting in general breakdown in normal social controls, resulting in dirty camp grounds, excesses of gambling, women going to work from different cabins each morning,
● 178 etc.

364 Usually the Desert People in labor camps keep the grounds around their own cabins reasonably clean, but farmers hiring all or nearly all Papago laborers are surprised and puzzled when their camps are almost as dirty as camps housing several ethnic groups. They order the Papago "chief" to clean up the camp, but nothing usually happens until the grower gives in and hires someone to clean the camp up.

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[1] Joseph, Spicer & Chesky, 1949, p. 53.

[Arizona Labor Camps]

517 of necessity, much
52 more reliance is placed by harvest hands on forms of amusement requiring a minimum of equipment and space: drinking, crap shooting, card playing, sexual indulgence.

797 Cotton pickers hauled from towns each day of course
529 had recreational resources of those population centers at their disposal. They could attend church on Sunday.
[563] Farmers make little effort to provide access to churches for their employees in labor camps. For some cotton pickers racial discrimination is a problem. As one Negro woman at Marana said, "There's a church over there, all right. But we don't know if they take colored. We don't go." For Catholic Papagos as Catholic Mexican-Americans, this is no problem. But farmers don't provide Sunday transportation to trading towns. The Desert People stay in labor camps on the Sabbath, except for a few from San Xavier who can take a bus home for the day occasionally.

529 About half the Papago women in the camps do some
washing on Sunday.[1] An occasional individual picks some
[178] cotton, but most simply loaf around camp with nothing constructive to occupy them. Sonora Catholics make their household shrines in a corner of their cabins, and use
527 them. In labor camps where all residents are Papagos, or
346 where there are many of the Desert People in a large camp, they take over an empty cabin to furnish a chapel where they can hold their services.[2] One far-sighted farmer who understood his Papago employees built a fine chapel for them when he constructed a new concrete block camp, but such understanding is indeed rare. Labor camp chapels seem to serve a quarter of the Papago harvest hands.[3]

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[1] Based on information from 8 families.

[2] "Sonora Catholicism antedates other Christian faiths on
529 the Reservation today, for the belief and practice of Son-
797 ora Catholics are remants of the teachings of the early
795 Spanish missionaries, acquired either directly from the pa-
346 dres, or through other Indians or Mexicans. During the
[177] generations when no Catholic clergy came to Papagueria and the nearest priests were far away in Mexico, the faithful carried on as best they could the ceremonies and devotions of the church.

[178] "With the absence of priests and the passage of time,
[179] much of the Roman creed and ritual vanished. In the Sonora Catholic churches, for example, there are no Mass, no hymns and prayers in Latin, no confession, and no marriage ceremony. Children are baptized by godparents, and the people bury their own dead." Joseph, Spicer and Chesky, 1949, p. 81-82.

[3] Based on information from 8 families.

WHY the Desert People work

461 464 The Desert People pick cotton because they need the money they are paid for their labor. Cotton harvesting is hard work and dirty, but as one young Papago who picks 300 pounds a day told the author, "$9 a day is a lot of money to me!" Picking cotton is the most practical way for unskilled Papagos to earn any large sum, and Papago cotton pickers superficially come very close to the concept of the economic man governed only by "laws" of economics. But there are deep-lying cultural reasons for this attitude and need among the Desert People.

CHANGE IN VIEWPOINT

177 178 Originally the Papago people lived in a manner quite different than they do today. After unknown centuries in their harsh semi-desert environment, they had worked out a marvelous adjustment to unfriendly nature and a military balance with surrounding Indians. But the Desert People have had some contacts with Europeans for 250 years. During those two and a half centuries, more and more Papago behaviors have changed to approximate European behaviors. Forms, if not meanings, of Papago action are frequently much like our own. Of course, habits and thoughts most central to Papago culture remain Indian in character. The most complete and striking changes have probably occurred in the economic spheres of life.

174 431 437 [224] Once material goods apparently changed hands among the Desert People through a system of gift exchange. A successful hunter divided his kill among families in his village. Later the wife of a good farmer divided some of her tasty dishes so the hunter received an amount roughly equivalent to his meat. Each family was an economic unit if necessary, and no kindred looked beyond its numbers for aid.

195 [190] 199 [234] [241] [465] When Spanish missionaries reached the Desert People they set out to change the Indians spiritually and economically. They introduced new crops and domestic animals to the Papagos along with a new religion. Missionaries introduced the Desert People to a work-exchange system, in which Indians were paid in kind for harvesting and other work (and even for attending mass at first)

486 [641] their fields and springs on both sides of the boundary have given many virtually duel citizenship. So there is doubt as to whether the Papagos need "Tourist Permits." In 1950 apparently three-fourths of the Desert People who journeyed to Magdalena obtained "Tourist Permits" which cost $3 U. S. currency.[1]

786 527 [539] The Magdalena celebration is not wholly religious in character. The plazas of the town are jammed with flimsy booths of poles and mats selling toys, cloth, shoes, hardware, pottery, curios, and goods of every sort, as well as food and drink. There are games of chance, and amusements: merry-go-rounds and power rides; there are beauty parlors and dance halls.

This secular side of fiesta is not ignored by the Desert People. In fact, they join in whole-heartedly. Magdalena merchants look upon them as special guests of the town, welcome guests who are well-behaved and "rich." Every Papago questioned on the matter said he enjoyed his stay in Magdalena.[2]

[108] This great carnival with its colorful meeting of diverse cultures--Spanish, Papago, and Yaqui and Mayo Indian--seems to be the holiday of the year for the Desert People. Apparently it has largely replaced the old Papago New Year at the sahuaro-jack ceremony early in July as the major calendrical event. Such an occasion cannot lack its economic aspects.

511 435 788 The Papago pilgrim pays about $7.00 for his transportation. $3 more goes for a "Tourist Permit." Lodging for 3 nights during fiesta is expensive in Magdalena, since everyone doubles his price, and renting rooms never let at other times of the year is a primary industry of the place. Sleeping space in a room or in a patio near the main plaza in Magdalena costs about $2 U. S. per night.[3] This means another $6 expenditure for Papagos staying the average length of time. Eating for 3 days is not expensive at thrown-together restaurants on plazas and side streets. A satisfactory meal could be purchased for 3 pesos at a reasonably clean establishment. At night a feast (roast whole pig with fresh buns, tomato and vegetable for example) could be had for 4 pesos. Peddlers hawked

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[1] Of 13 Papagos giving information 10 obtained permits, or 77%.

[2] In this case, 8 individuals of 8. The author has seen 8 fiestas at Magdalena; has yet to see Papagos who didn't seem to be having a good time.

[3] Dobyns, 1950, p. 28.